

Message Text

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11
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 4493

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJ: SOVIET RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE: ROMANIA
REF : STATE 175239; BUCHAREST 4394; BUCHAREST 4003; BUCHAREST
3977; BUCHAREST 3959

1. SUMMARY. WE DETECT NO WORSENING OF SOVIET-ROMANIAN RELATIONS
AS RESULT OF EITHER ECPC OR CSCE. QUITE TO THE CONTRARY, WE SEEM
TO FIND OURSELVES TEMPORARILY IN THE MIDST OF A MINI-ACCOMODATION,
HOWEVER SUPERFICIAL. ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO MAXIMIZE ITS
AUTONOMY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIETS USING ITS OWN PROVEN DEVICES
RATHER THAN DEPEND ON CSCE OR ECPC. ROMANIAN MEDIA COVERAGE OF
LATTER HAS BEEN SCANTY AND GOR APPARENTLY PREFERS TO FORGET
RATHER THAN TO HIGHLIGHT BERLIN CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. ROMANIAN DESIRE TO MAXIMIZE ITS AUTONOMY FROM SOVIET UNION
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LONG ANTEDATES EITHER ECPC OR CSCE AND GOR CAN BE EXPECTED TO

MAKE USE OF BOTH CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS, WHENEVER CONVENIENT, IN SUPPORT OF THIS LONG-ESTABLISHED POLICY. NEVERTHELESS, BECAUSE BOTH DOCUMENTS ARE ESSENTIALLY NEGOTIATED COMPROMISES ROMANIANS WILL SURELY CONTINUE TO MAKE THEIR ARGUMENTS FOR AUTONOMY IN THEIR OWN WAY, RELYING UPON THEIR OWN PROVEN DEVICES AND INNATE SENSE OF THE LIMITATIONS INVOLVED RATHER THAN COUNT TOO HEAVILY ON EITHER ECPC OR CSCE LANGUAGE. SPEAKING TO THE RPC CC UPON HIS RETURN FROM BERLIN (SCINTEIA, JULY 2, 1976) CEAUSESCU LABELED ECPC DOCUMENT AS A "GOOD" ONE, BUT IMMEDIATELY ADDED, "NATURALLY, I WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR; IF IT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT BY OUR PARTY, IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT."

3. THE STRAINS IN SOVIET-ROMANIAN RELATIONS ARE EVER-PRESENT AND DERIVE BOTH FROM HISTORICAL REASONS AS WELL AS FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES SUCH AS INTER-PARTY RELATIONS, (CHINA), ROLE OF NATION, PACE OF MILITARY AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. THIS UNEASINESS DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY AGGRAVATED AS A RESULT OF CSCE OR ECPC. ON THE CONTRARY, WITH CEAUSESCU MOMENTARILY DUE TO "VACATION" IN THE SOVIET UNION (BUCHAREST 4394) WE SEEM TO BE EXPERIENCING, IF ONLY ON THE SURFACE, A SOMEWHAT MORE RELAZED PHASE IN THE RELATIONSHIP (BUCHAREST 4003).

4. ONE OF THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF ROMANIANS AT HELSINKI WAS TO OBTAIN LANGUAGE IN FINAL ACT WHICH WOULD VITIATE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. CEAUSESCU HAS MADE POINT SEVERAL TIMES (MOST SPECIFICALLY IN HIS DECEMBER 18, 1975 GNA SPEECH) THAT PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION AND SOVEREIGN EQUALITY APPLY EQUALLY TO ALL CSCE STATES. NOW, ON EVE OF HELSINKI'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY, GOR INTERPRETATION IS AGAIN REITERATED BY THEIR HELSINKI REPRESENTATIVE VALENTIN LIPATTI (LUMEA, JULY 29, 1976) WHO WRITES THAT HELSINKI PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS APPLY IN THE RELATIONS OF EACH PARTICIPATING

STATE WITH ALL OTHER CSCE SIGNATORIES, "INDIFFERENT OF THEIR SOCIAL-ECONOMIC SYSTEM, SIZE, GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OR MEMBERSHIP OR NON-MEMBERSHIP IN MILITARY ALLIANCES." ALTHOUGH NOT A THEORY CALCULATED TO PLEASE THE SOVIETS, IT IS ONE THAT THEY SEEMED TO HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH, AT LEAST COMING FROM THE ROMANIANS.

5. CEAUSESCU HAS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ECPC'S ADOPTION
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OF THE "CONSENSUS" PRINCIPLE TWICE SINCE HIS RETURN FROM BERLIN, CALLING IT IN HIS JULY 1 ADDRESS TO THE RPC CC, "AN ESSENTIAL CHANGE" IN MOVEMENT. HOWEVER, MOST STRIKING FACT SO FAR IS SPARSITY OF ROMANIAN MEDIA COMMENTARY ON ECPC RESULTS. NOT EVEN ERA SOCIALISTA, THE PARTY'S CHIEF THEORETICAL JOURNAL

HAS YET PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE ON SUBJECT. RATHER THAN MAKING EXTENSIVE USE OF BERLIN DOCUMENT, IT WOULD APPEAR THE ROMANIANS

PREFER TO PUT ECPC BEHIND THEM AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE
HOPES THAT THE BERLIN GATHERING WAS THE LAST OF ITS KIND.
ROMANIANS WE HAVE TALKED TO ARE BASICALLY SATISFIED WITH TEXT
OF ECPC DOCUMENT, BUT SKEPTICAL THAT IT WILL GREATLY ALTER
TRADITIONAL SOVIET BEHAVIOR (BUCHAREST 3959; BUCHAREST 3933).
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